# ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE!

### The Democracy of Wisconsin.

ADOPTED IN STATE CONVENTION, AT MILWAUKEE, SEPT. 3d, 1862.

part when the Transport on the Party CHARLES AND ALL THE STREET, We address you in a time of great trial and calamity. We address you in a time of national suffering and sorrowing. We address von in a crisis of fearful peril to the Union, and to the free institutions established by our fathers in the several States. We do so with a solemn sense of the responsibilities resting upon us in common with the whole American people. We do so with the single design of contributing all our aid to the preservation of the Union, the Constitution and the liberties of the States. And we propose to do so, according to our lights, fearlessly and openly, let whatever new power frown upon the ancient American birthright of freedom of

Our State Constitution, asserting the inviolable right of liberty of political discussion. adopts an American maxim as old as American independence, when it declares that "the blessings of a tree government can only be maintained by frequent recurrence to funda-mental principles." And whosoever, in what-soever position, asserts that there has come a time in American history, when freedom of speech should be suppressed, when the safeguard of political opposition should be aban-doned, and the voice of all parties, except one, should be silenced; when the Administration of the Government should pass uncensured and unquestioned; when loyalty to the institutions of our country should give way to passive submission to our rulers, has little sympathy with the spirit of the liberty won by the valor of our fathers, or of the free institutions established by their wisdom. In a free country the freedom of the people abides in peace and war, in domestic tranquility and civil discord. The Constitution of the United States, and the Constituions of the several States, provide alike for all the exigencies of peace at home and abroad, of foreign war, and of domestic insurrection. The Constitution of the United States, and the laws enacted in pursuance of it, are the supreme law of the land in all conditions of the country. The Constitution is inviolate in all circumstances of the people and the government. State necessity has no power to suspend the Constitution or abridge the freedom of the people. State necessity, as an excuse for invading popular liberty, has been in all history the tyrant's plea. When popular liberty succumbs to the cry of State necessity, the land has already ceased to be free. Loyalty, in America, is the franchise of no office or officer. American loyalty is que to the Constitution alone. Fidelity to the Constitution is loyalty to the Union. There is no Union outside the Constitution. The Constistution is the Union. And whatever man, officer, or party, assumes to be true to the Union, and not to the Constitution as our forefathers made it, and our fathers enjoyed it, is disloyal to both. Blind submission to the Administration of the Government, is not devotion to the country or the Constitution. The Administration is not the Government. The Government is established by the Constitution, and rests in its provisions. The Administration is as subject to the Constitution, and as responsible for its observance, as the people. The Administration may err, but the Constitution does not change. And when the Administration violates the Constitution, lovalty to the Administration may become disloyalty to the Union. Devotion to the Constitution is the only American lovalty. In times of peace and prosperity, there is

little danger of the loyalty of the people forsaking the Constitution for the principles of a party, or the policy of an Administration. But in days of civil discord and convulsion, there is danger of patriotism being blindfolded, mistaking the objects of its faith, and transferring to the servant of its altar the devotion due only to the altar itself. And in such days it is the duties of all parties to consider well their position, and to determine how far their loyalty to the Constitution is consistent with their support of the Administration of

the Government. Almost as old as the Union, founded in the broad principles of the Constitution, identified with all the prosperous history of the United States, the Democratic party has no new principles to enunciate, no new loyalty to pledge. It has always been, as it is, the party of the Constitution. In all its career, the Constitution has been its only creed. It has been depressed by defeat and elated by success, and has at times mistaken the true path of duty. But it has never lost sight of the Constitution, or wandered far from its ways. Its history chronicles a devotion to the Constitution, and a sympathy with the spirit of the people, as just and steadfast as human devotion and sympathy can attain. If not always right, it has not been often or long wrong. Human history can say no more for any party, in any age or country. The Democratic party needs to-day no platform but its history. But in this unprecedented and terrible crisis, it becomes us to consider the ap-

The Democratic party has outlived many antagonists. The Federal party, the National Republican party, the Whig party, have successively struggled with it, with varied success; but have successively disappeared from history. This was not accidental. The Democratic party was as subject to accident as its rivals. It has been frequently defeated. But it has survived all its defeats, while its ancient enemies have not survived occasional success. The reason is apparent. It was founded on the true principles of our Government, and guided by true sympathy with the spirit of American institutions. They rested in a narrower comprehension of the genius of the American people, and in mistaken views of the principles of the Constitution. They died the death of error; it lives the life of truth.

plication of old principles to new conditions.

The history of the country is the history of the Democratic party. With occasional intermissions, it has administered the National Government and guided the mark of American history. Under its influence, the true spirit of the Constitution displaced the narrow and un-American comprehension of our system of Government which originally prevailed, and gave tone to the Administration of the elder Adams. Under its influence the commercial and economical interests of the country were emancipated from the hot house system of tariffs and currency, which bound American energy and skill in the chains of European theory. Under its leadership, the American flag was carried in glory through war, and sent in peace floating in security over all the seas of commerce. Under its leadership the area of the country was almost doubled, and new fields of enterprise were populated by prosperous American communities. Under the guidance of no other party was any great stride made in civil or commercial prosperity, was a war ever waged with a foreign enemy, was an acre of territory ever added to our vast domain. The Demoeratic party led the country from its feeble and poor condition at the beginning of the present century, to the great and glorious empire of freedom, the unparalleled political and material prosperity, in which it met with its last defeat in the Presidential election of

Such defeats of the great party of the country never before carried with them permanent evil to the nation. The old opponents of the Democracy took the Administration of the Government upon its defeat, and surrendered it again upon its success, the Constitution and the Union remaining unimpaired. The ancient antagonists of the Democracy, whatever their sins of doctrine or action, were

When in power, they administered the Gov- South. ernment upon the policy of a majority of the whole country. When in opposition they spoke for a minority of the whole country. They were loval because they were national. The Union was safe, because they were loyal. jealousies and distrusts. Their success was harmless to the Constitution, because it was the defeat of a constitutional party, and not of the spirit of the Con-

stitution itself. The defeat of the Democratic party in 1860 has been followed by the revolt of several of the States from the Union, and by the present legacy of Washington to his countrymen, terrible civil war, because it was defeated by should be cherished in the heart of every citterrible civil war, because it was defeated by a sectional party. We reprobate that revolt, as unnecessary, unjustifiable, unholy. Devo- no period of time could they be more usefully ted to the Constitution, we invoke the ven- remembered than at the present moment. geance of God upon all who raise their sacresoft gloves of peace or the bloody gauntlets of his parting address, his paternal counsels of war. But we affirm that the revolt and would seem to be not merely the offspring of consequent civil war were a long foretold and wisdom and foresight, but the voice of proph-probable result of the accession to power of ecy, foretelling events, and warning us of the a sectional party, because their success was evil to come. . . . The Federal the defeat of the spirit of the Constitution. Constitution was then regarded by him as an

of his Country, himself, gave voice to these apprehensions in his Farewell Address in 1796. He passed a eulogium upon the Union, various parts of the country, North and South, discussion. founded on "geographical discriminations been forgotten, or have designs already been whence designing men may endeavor to ex- formed to sever the nation? \* \* \* \* cite a belief that there is a real difference of Mutual suspicions and reproaches may in time local interests and views." He foretold that create mutual hostility; and artful and design-"one of the expedients of party is to acquire ing men will always be found, who are ready influence within particular districts, is to mis- to foment these fatal divisions, and to inflame represent the opinions and aims of other dis- the natural jealousies of different sections of tricts." He forewarned us that "we could the country. \* \* Delude not yournot shield ourselves too much against the selves into the belief that a breach once made jealousies and heart-burnings which would may be afterwards repaired. If the Union spring from these misrepresentations, which is once severed, the line of separation will tend to render aliens to each other, those who grow wider and wider, and the controversies ought to be bound together by fraternal affec- which are now debated and settled in the tion." Fearful prophecy, fearfully fulfilled! halls of legilation, will be tried in the fields How the great spirit of the illustrious Wash- of battle, and determined by the sword. ington would have mourned had he been able \* \* The Constitution cannot be mainto foresee the tull and terrible measure of the | tained, nor the Union preserved, in opposition danger he foretold, the insane and terrible to public feeling, by the mere exertion of the disregard of his holy advice which has accom- coercive powers confided to the General Gov-

ot the Union should not have abided together gives to life, liberty, character and property in harmony for all time. Their domestic in- in every quarter of the country; and in the stitutions, their social condition, and their fraternal attachment which the citizens of the habits of life, differed indeed from the begin- several States bear to one another, as memning. And, in the language of General bers of one political family mutually contrib-Jackson, "this difference was unavoidably in- uting to promote the happiness of each other. creased by the varying principles upon which Hence the citizens of every State should the American colonies were originally planted: studiously avoid everything calculated to principles which had taken deep root in their wound the sensibility or offend the just pride social relations before the revolution, and of the people of other States; and they should therefore, of necessity, influencing their policy frown upon any proceedings within their own since they become free and independent borders likely to disturb the tranquility of States." The progress of all the States was their political brethren in other portions of great, but frequently in different directions. the Union. \* \* \* Each State has the But the Constitution left to the several States unquestionable right to regulate its own inthe exclusive control of their domestic con- ternal concerns, according to its own pleasure. cerns; and had the spirit of Constitution pre-vailed, differences of domestic institutions the people of other States to cast odium on would never have disturbed the peaceful re- their institutions, and all measures calculated lations of the States in the Union. The to disturb their rights of property, or to put slavery of the African race formed from the in jeopardy their peace and internal tranquilbeginning the most important and dangerous ity, are in direct opposition to the spirit in of these differences. The Constitution was a which the Union was founded, and must encompact of compromises, and in no instance danger its safety. Motives of philanthropy more wisely or generously so than in relation may be assigned for this unwarrantable interto the institution of slavery. And had the ference, and weak men may persuade themseveral States of Union abided in their poli- selves for a moment that they are laboring in tics by that necessary and magnanimous spirit the cause of humanity, and asserting the of compromise, the Union would now be un- rights of the human race; but every one, upon disturbed, and ancient harmony and prosper- sober reflection, will see that nothing but misity would reign where civil war now rages. | chief can come from these improper assaults

has disturbed many States and overturned assured, that the men found busy in this work many governments. It is one of the most diffi- of discord, are not worthy of your confidence, cult social evils to deal with. It is a growth of and deserve your strongest reprobation." errors in the robes of truth. It is a terrible South and its institutions. apostle of evil. Discord follows its lead, and The results so wisely foretold, necessarily revolution too often is the end of its career. followed. The denunciation of the South at

Unfortunately, among many elements of the North, was met by denunciation of the good and greatness, fanaticism emigrated to North at the South. Hostility in the North this country. From time to time, it has played to the institutions of the South provoked hosits part in marring the record of civil and re- tility in the South to the people of the North. ligious liberty in American history. It has, The great mass of the people of the South from time to time, sent forth various heretical were loval to the Union; but a class of pubdogmas of politics. It has asserted a higher lie men in the South had for some time been law, above the Constitution itself. It has in tainted with disloyalty, and aimed to separate recent memorable words, sought to do in the all the Southern States from the Union, name of God what could not be done in the whenever an opportunity should arise to carry

The North had rid itself of the incubus of ated its power and importance at the South. slavery. The North was as responsible for Thus faction begot faction; and the Abolition slavery in the South as the South itself is, party at the North produced the disunion But fanaticism became offended with Southern party at the South. The spirit of Northern slavery; and overlooking home evils and home | Abolition and of Southern disunion insensibly reforms, it devoted itself to the discussion of grew together for years, until the period of the evils of African slavery, clamoring against the last Presidential election, when a bitter its criminality and urging its abolition. It animosity existed between large and powerdisregarded the Constitution, and denounced ful factions in the North and in the South. its guarantees of the rights of slavery as a In the meantime, in 1854-6, the Whig

apology to make for Southern slavery. We The mighty voice of Webster, which always regard it as a great social evil. But we re- spoke for the whole country, and never uttergard it as a misfortune, not a crime. The ed a sectional dogma, was silent forever. The crime is in the presence of the African race great head and heart of Clay, whose statesof those who grew rich in the slave trade, and great lights of the Whig party survived, we which they themselves planted. We hold party from the shame of prostituting itself in this country to be the possession of the white the unboly embraces of a sectional and revorace, and this Government to be instituted by tionary organization. But they were gone; the condition of the slave; but we are unwil- party went out of being, and the Republican ling to violate the Constitution in his behalf, party was ingrafted on the Abolition party. or to disturb society by emancipating four It is true that the Republican party avows millions of an interior race in a land possessed its abolition tendencies less manfully than the by a superior race. It is the sin of history old Abolition party. They assume to interthat the African race is here; once here in fere with slavery in the Territories and other great numbers, the proper condition of the places subject to the jurisdiction of the United white. Equality was impossible. Nature has disguise of their real policy, is fully exposed made social equality impossible without fatally by the uniform tone of their discussion of sinning against her laws, and without social slavery, by their resistance of the fugitive equality political equality is impossible. Na- slave law, by their avowal of an irrepressible ture never placed the races together; when conflict between the institutions of the North is the best condition for both races: a necessary their legislation wherever and whenever they

at the North, unembarrassed by the presence but there is no room for doubt that the aboliof slavery, did not see slavery as a necessary tion element in that party is its largest, most evil, but only as an abstract wrong. It could energetic, and influential element. make no allowance for the condition of the With the strength and influence of the Re-South, and had no toleration for the compro- publican party, grew the strength and influ-

law in bringing them together.

national parties, resting upon no sectional mises of the Constitution, or the safeguards policy, representing no sectional constituency. which it extended to the institutions of the

For a long time the abolition party was: weak political minority; but it was from the beginning an energetic and dangerous apostle of unconstitutional doctrines, and of sectional

As long ago as 1837, the warmor statesman Andrew Jackson, in his Farewell Address warned us against it. He quoted the warnings of Washington, and said:

"The lessons contained in this invaluable izen to the latest generation, and perhaps at For when we look upon the scenes which are igious hands against it, whether wearing the passing around us, and dwell upon the pages In so vast a union of States, of such differ- experiment. . . . The trial has ing interests, habits and institutions, the dan- been made. It succeeded beyond the proudger of sectional parties to the peace and per- est hopes of those who framed it. Every manence to the Union, was early foreseen by quarter of this widely extended nation has the fathers of the Constitution. The Father felt its blessings, and shared in the general which no tongue or pen has since improved. becoming every day more evident, and the He urged the "unity of the Government signs of evil are sufficiently apparent to awawhich constitutes us one people." He im- ken the deepest anxiety in the bosom of the pressed upon the nation, that it was "a main patriot. We now behold systematic efforts pillar in the edifice of our real independence; publicly made to sow the seeds of discord bethe support of our tranquility at home; of our tween different parts of the United States, power abroad, of our safety, of our prosperity, of the very liberty which we so highly prize." In a spirit of prophecy, he cautioned against the North, and the North against the the people and their posterity against the South, and to force into the controversy the dangers it might encounter, and with his most delicate and excited topics, upon which parting words invoked them "indignantly to it is impossible that a large portion of the frown upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from tions. Appeals, too, are constantly made to the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which sectional interests, \* \* \* and the now linked together the various parts." He possible dissolution of the Union has at length enlarged upon the mutual dependence of the become an ordinary and familiar subject of East and West; he warned us against parties "Has the warning voice of Washington

ernment. The foundations must be laid in There was no reason why the several States | the affections of the people; in the security it |

Fanaticism is the bane of harmony. It upon the feelings and rights of others. Rest

prosperity, and yet gains strength under per- So spoke one of the greatest and wisest secution. It often appeals to the most gener- patriots of American history. Counsels so ous prejudices of humanity; it often wears the sacred and warnings so solemn, were disregarb of religion and morality; it has wonder- garded by the Abolitionists; and the Abolition ful powers of proselytism; it has great capaci- party continued to teach its treasonable docties to make wrong look like right, and to deck trines, and to preach its crusade against the

the people of the South with them. These It finally found employment fatal to the men zealously contributed to foment the Abpeace of the country in political abolition. olition excitement at the North, and exagger-

compact of sin and shame. Many of its party most unhappily abandoned its organizateachers openly advocated disunion; and tions, and the present Republican party was many more proclaimed an irrepressible con- founded on the basis of the old Abolition flict between the domestic systems of the party. The best and most enlightened pa-North and the South, arguing that the States triots of the Whigs refused all alliance with of the Union must become all free or all slave. the new sectional party; but the vast body of These dangerous and revolutionary doc- the Whigs surrendered their national politics trines have always been combatted by the to its narrow and sectional bigotry. The Democratic party. The Democracy has no great leaders of the Whig party were gone. upon the continent. This is a crime of the manship had served to save the Union from past, not of the present. And even in the more than one peril, and was as broad as the past, it was less the crime of the South, than Union itself, lay low in death. Had these who now clamor for the abolition of slavery fully believe that they would have saved their white men for white men. We commisserate pigmies sat in the seats of giants; the Whig

African was subjection in some form to the States only, and not in the States. This thin brought together, the servitude of the inferior and the South, and by the whole tenor of evil resulting from the violation of natural have been in power. That a large and respectable body of the party have no sympathy But fanaticism did not so see it. Fanaticism with its abolition proclivities, is perhaps true;

sectional; both were revolutionary.

lican party was no less revolutionary, though with all the dignity, equality and rights of the its revolutionary tendencies were less manifest. several States unimpaired; and that as soon as It is evident, from what has already been | these objects are accomplished, the war ought seen, that Washington and Jackson, fit repre- to cease. Thus carried on, the war is not only sentatives of the sages and patriots of the expedient, but necessary; not only justifiable revolutionary and succeeding eras, regarded but holy. It is a defensive war. It is a war sectional parties as revolutionary. Under of self-preservation. Disunion, once successour system they are essentially so; for no sec- ful, would be a recurring evil; and instead of tional party could accomplish any end, except leaving a Northern Union and a Southern by the severence of the bonds of fraternity Confederacy, would continue its destructive and unity between the different parts of the career until all of the States would be broken country upon which the Union rests. It is and dissevered, until the whole country would not we who say, it is the sages and patriots of be distracted by petty sovereignties and wasted

In almost every State of the Union, in penetrate the dark and terrible future which which the Republican party had the power, lies beyond the grave of the Constitution. they enacted laws impeding the execution of The war for the preservation of the Constituthe laws of the United States. Such laws tion has all our sympathies, all our hopes, and were passed by them in this State. A Re- all our energies. rescind, resolutions setting at defiance the au- States. the doctrine of secession as broadly as it has on, and sustained with all the energies of the ever been asserted by any Southern State. United States, and the people thereof. No This is well understood at home, by Demo- blood or treasure is too dear a price to re-purpicion of exaggeration abroad, we here insert and to transmit unimpaired to our children. wo of these resolutions in full:

tionable right to judge of its infraction; and necessary.

acts of the executor of the United States or and we hope speedily will, subdue the armies even of Congress, but to a solemn decision of of the revolted States. War can, and we the Supreme Court of the United States upon hope speedily will, disarm every traitor, posthe Constitution and laws of the United sess every place of strength, and uphold the States. This is the doctrine caught from se- grand old flag on every flag-staff in the United ceding. South Carolina by Republican Wis- States. But when war shall have accomconsin, and repeated by the Republican party plished all that war can do, the Union will of Wisconsin, in full communion with the Re- not be fully restored. The participation of publican party of the north, to justify seces- the revolted States in the Government of the

these revolutionary parties grew in numbers Union will depend, in a great measure, on the and influence down to the Presidential elec- confidence of the people of the recovered was defeated by the sectional influences of ment, and in the faithful observance of their

his life in its prime.

the people of the South with them, save by of the Republican party, and its old aversion tion, plainly shows that they had no hope of tice from the stronger North. But if the the South from the Democratic candidate to and the ancient defenders of its rights against the two sectional parties tended to the same Union, or even bold in maintaining its old result of the Presidential election. Had Mr. political warfare against sectional parties and

and the election of the Republican candidate. spring of sectional parties, and the complete Washington. His election was perhaps less and South, of all sectional parties. The spi-Republican. The evil of his election belongs with the letter of the Constitution. to his party, not to himself. The good he has It is no less essential to the people of the his party, and stemmed the tide of its revolu- stances of society, the Constitution, the country immeasurable service; and we hope stitution. sympathy and support.

The standard of revolt was raised, and civil Administration has had to play, there are war began. Whatever may have been the some grave acts of the executive and legislarelative guilt of the two sectional parties in tive departments of the Government, for the causes which prepared the South for rev- which we hold the Republican party responolution, the sole guilt in the war itself rests sible, and for which we arraign it at the bar

with the Southern party of secession.

Congress has declared the war is waged by

We denounce the mischievous and unconthe Government of the United States, not in stitutional tone of much of the discussion in

ence of the party of secession. Both were the spirit of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering It would be idle to show the revolutionary with the rights or institutions of the States, character of the secession party. Its revolu- but to defend and maintain the supremacy of tionary purposes were avowed. The Republic Constitution, and to preserve the Union the past who have said, that in American pol- by petty warfare. We cannot calmly conities every sectional party is essentially dis-loyal to the Union. We know and love the blessings of Union, but no human eye can

publican judiciary for this State nullified acts But we have a right to demand, it is our of Congress, assumed to overrule the decis- duty to demand, and we do demand, that this ions of the Supreme Count of the United war be carried on by the Government for the States in cases arising under the Constitution | Constitution alone, and under the Constitution and laws of the Union, disobeved its man- alone. To that end, amongst others, we retain dates, and sanctioned by judicial decision the our political organization, and will use our forcible rescue of prisoners held under the best efforts from time to time and at all times. judicial process of the United States. But to regain for the Democratic party, under the not content with this measure of disloyalty, forms and sanctions of the Constitution, the the Republican Legislature of this State control of the legislative and executive depassed in 1859, and has ever since refused to partments of the Government of the United

thority of the United States, and asserting In the meantime, the war must be carried crats and Republicans; but to avoid the sus- chase the Union inherited from our fathers, It is not our province to relate the history

"Resolved, That the Government formed of the war, or to criticise its movements, by the Constitution of the United States was Many hundreds of thousands of our leval not made the exclusive right or final judge of brethren have patriotically gone forth to batthe extent of its powers delegated to itself; the for the Union. All have done nobly, all but that, as in all other cases of compact have suffered nobly, many have died nobly. having no common judge, each party has an The angel of death has made bloody vacancies equal right to judge for itself, as well of in- in many a Northern home. Few have esfractions as of the mode and measure of RE- caped without the loss of some near or dear friend. American liberty has been re-bap-"Resolved, That the principle and constructized in loyal blood; and hundreds of thoution contended for by the party which now sands of loyal men are now in the field, or rules in the councils of the nation, that the hastening thither, to conquer or die for the General Government is the exclusive judge | Constitution. We owe it to the memory of of the extent of the powers delegated to it, the dead, we owe it to the living hosts in the stop nothing short of despotism, since the dis- field, we owe it above all to the Constitution. cretion of those who administer the Govern- to respond with cheerful alacrity to every ment, and not the Constitution, would be the constitutional call for men, to submit to every measure of their powers; that the several constitutional exaction of treasure. We owe States which formed that instrument, being all that we have, and all that we are, to the sovereign and independent, have the unques- Union; we must pay the whole debt if it be

that a positive defiance of those sovereignties. But war is not our whole duty. We owe a of all unauthorized acts done or attempted political debt to the Constitution, and that too to be done under color of that instrument, is must be paid. We adopt the language of Gen. Jackson, that war alone cannot preserve These resolutions had relation, not to the the Constitution against disunion. War can, sion in every disloyal State in the South. Union must of necessity be voluntary. War Thus the Republican party, as well as the has no power to compel such voluntary action. secession party, was revolutionary. And The peace and permanency of the restored tional of 1860, when the Democratic party States, in the justice of the General Govern-Constitutional rights. War has no power to The sectional party of the South succeeded inspire this confidence. The stability of the in intruding some members into the Demo- Union, then, as in times past, will need the cratic Convention; and when defeated there, mutual good will and affections of the people by the steadfast lovalty of the true Democracy, of the several States. War has no power to put in nomination a renegade from his party control the affections. The people of the and his country. The sectional party of the South will return to the Union, when they do North put in nomination a distinguished gen- return, wounded in their pride, and embittertleman, the author of the doctrine that the ed in their feeling. When they return, they several States must ultimately become all will return as brethren, and merit the treatment of brethren. The law may demand its The Democratic paaty nominated as their victims, but those guiltless of the war, and candidate a statesman, now no more, of great those forgiven by the law, will again be our experience and ability in public affairs, of political brothers. The restored States will great energy and integrity of character and return to the Union with all the rights of other life, the author of the only just and practical States. To win back the confidence and afsolution of the question of slavery in the Ter- fection of their people, and to restore the ritories, whose whole public life was devoted Union in the spirit of the Constitution, the to the maintenance of the Constitution as it sectional party at the North must be vigoris, and the Union as it was; and whose zeal ously combatted, and in due time overthrown for the preservation of the country sacrificed at the ballot-box by the Democratic party. the only national, constitutional party left in The history of the Convention which nom- the land. If the Democratic party should be inated Mr. Douglas, plainly shows that the disbanded, or should suffer itself to remain inchampions of secession had no hope to carry active, the South would retain its old distrust defeating the candidate of the Democratic to the General Government administered by party. The whole tone and temper of the it. It would then believe that the whole Republican leaders and press at the North, North was indeed given up to abolition, and before and during the session of the Conven- that the weaker South would receive no juselecting their candidate, save by diverting South sees the Republican party defeated, the Secession candidate. Thus the action of sectional influences once more in power in the Douglas been elected, secession could not influences then may the people of the South, have prevailed at the South, and the several misled from the allegiance by the detestable aims of both sectional parties would have intrigues of ambitious demagogues; well hope to find once more in the Union old rights, old The result was the defeat of Mr. Douglas, blessings, old safety. Disunion is the off-We have no personal objection to the distin- restoration of the Union, in all its old peace guished gentleman who now sits in the seat of and harmony, rests upon the utter rout, North

mischievous than that of any other prominent rit of the Constitution must go hand in hand done is in a great degree personal to him. loval States to establish the full reign of the Republican as he is, he has not forgotten his spirit of the Constitution; to restore as the old national patriotism. If he has not always, supreme law of the land, in peace and war, he has often, resisted the abolition element in in prosperity and adversity, in all circumtionary course. In this he has done the whole Constitution, and nothing but the Con-

that he will continue to stand as a barrier as We claim the right, as free and loyal Amerwell as against the most destructive faction of ican citizens, to discuss the conduct of the his own party, as against the armed enemy of Administration, and to censure it when we the Union. The responsibilities of his posi- deem it worthy of censure. Our fathers won tion are such as might awe any man; and in and established this right, and we will not all his efforts to sustain the Constitution against surrender it. We utterly deny to the Execrevolution and innovation, he has our hearty utive of the United States the power assumed by Congress in the sedition act of 1798, to The election was the signal for the move- suppress opposition to the Administration, or ment of secession. It was no excuse for the restrict the full freedom of political discussion guilt of disunion. The insincerity and bad in the loval States. This would be to assume faith of the leaders in the movement is a power above the Constitution. The Addemonstrated by the fact that in both ministration has no more power to suspend Houses of Congress there was a safe the Constitution than have the people. The majority against the Republican party. But Administration is the child of the Constitution, the truth is, that the apostles of secession and the servant of the people. The child were traitors at heart, independent of the must not reject the authority of the parent. election; and that they wanted and used the nor the servant usurp the rights of the master. election only as a lever to precipitate the The Constitution and the laws give the Ad-South from its allegiance. They duped the ministration ample power to protect itself and South into the belief that the entire people of enforce its authority in the loyal States: and the North were infected with the leprosy of it would at this day be an evil example pregnant with anarchy and disorder, to disregard As it was, we fully believe that the majority the Constitutional rights of the loval States of the whole Southern people stood loyal to and their people. We cannot bring ourselves the Union, and that in no seceding State, ex- to the belief that such a reign of terror is imcept South Carolina, was the ordinance of se- pending over us. We respect the Adminiscession fairly carried before the people. tration too much for such an apprehension. The election of Mr. Lincoln, though effected But if such times are upon us, we must play by a minority of votes, was carried in all the our parts like men, and not disayow our prinforms of the Constitution, was obligatory upon ciples and opinions like cowards. Loval to all the States and people thereof, was no pal- the core to the Constitution and Government liation for the unhallowed act of secession, of the United States, the Democracy has was no ground for the risks, sufferings, hor- nothing to fear from the assertion of its prinrors, and ruin of the most shameless and de- ciples, and the discussion of its political views. testable civil war known in the history of civ- Allowing much of minor evil to pass unnoticed, in view of the difficult part which the

holding States, and in favor of the exercise private formula or receipt. by Congress of powers not delegated by the Constitution, to be eminently dangerous in

We denounce the abolition of slavery in require a special license, and bagatelle tables are the District of Columbia, at the cost of the reckoned as billiards. United States, as unconstitutional, and peculiarly mischievous at this time in giving force to the distrust of the North in all the slave

We denounce the sweeping and indiscriminate measures of confiscation and emancipa- 7. Stamps must be attached to the papers retion, as unconstitutional, and as having a quiring them at the time of their execution, and strong tendency to unite the whole South must be obliterated by the person writing his iniagainst the Union, as one man.

We believe that these and kindred things have had a great weight in diminishing the nies are not required to stamp their own disnumbers and influence of the Union party at patches over their own lines.

suspend the writ of habeas corpus in the loval siring to purchase \$50 worth or over, at the rates States. We deny that this act, materially of discount established by the Treasury Departchanging the laws of the land, is an Executive ment. act. We have the authority of the Supreme Court of the United States, pronounced by certain sum, with interest, will be stamped sothe voice of Chief Justice Marshall as long cording to the principal sum. Foreign currency ago as 1807, and affirmed by every commentator on the Constitution since, that under the Constitution of the United States, it is a leg- of 4 433, nor at the market rates of exchange, islative power. No king has assumed such a which is now something above the real par. power in England, since the revolution.

We deny the power of the Executive to make arrests in the loval States. The susof the United States, and of Art. 4, 5 and 6 cards. of the amendments thereto. And we consider this practice as unnecessary, and tending to ers exclusively, it is defined that in a tavern or bring the Constitution into disregard.

We deny the power of the Executive to trammel the freedom of the press by the sup-pression of newspapers. The press is judicially license for liquor in all cases of retail to be twenty dollars. By retail is understood any trammel the freedom of the press by the supresponsible for abuses; but the freedom of the quantity under three gallons. To sell above that press, subject to judicial remedies, is essential quantity is wholesale, and the license is one hunto the freedom of the people. And we pro- dred dollars. Restaurants which furnish bedtest against the manifest partiality with which ding, and which keep liquors, are required to this new and dangerous power is exercised.

We deny the recent semi-official definitions of the crime of treason. "Treason against of the crime of treason. "Treason against ing ten dollars, when the re cipts amount to or the United States shall consist only in levying exceed one thousand dollars per year. Eating war against them, or in adhering to their ene- houses are permitted to keep confectionery with mies, giving them aid and comfort." In com- out an additional license. menting on this definition in the Constitution, All dealers in liquor by retail are required to Judge Story quotes with approbation the re- pay a license of twenty dollars per year. The mark of Montesquieu, that if the crime of penalty for refusal or failure to take out license treason be indeterminate, that alone is suffi- is a fine of three times the amount of duty or cient to make any government degenerate tax imposed by the law; one half of which goes into arbitary power; and he denounces, as the to the informer. These taxes are, of course, in Supreme Court of the United States had rejected, the doctrine of constructive treason. It was in apprehension of the dangers of constructive treason, that the definition of this crime was introduced into the body of the Constitution itself; and it is a definition far so that escape from the penalty is next to imposmore in keeping the rights of a free people sible. than such vague phrases as disloyal practices. The Statutes of the United States amply provide for the punishment of treasonable crimes power in the Executive to enlarge them.

We deny the power of the Executive to transport persons accused of crime in the loyal States, from the State where the crime is alleged to have been committed, to any trial of any person in the loval States for any crime before military tribunals or other And we fully believe that the loyal people of Returning, the same train will leave Peru at 6:00 who framed the Constitution, and will be found unwilling to surrender rights so sacred and West. and so essential to their liberties. We believe that the Executive acts of

vertency by subordinate officers, than in the and too dangerous to the liberties of the people, to pass without the protest of the free and loval Democracy. If done as a part of a full and deliberate policy, they strike at the root of American liberty, and we are drifting from the safe anchorage of the Constitution into an unknown wilderness of cruel waters. Let whatever may come, the Democracy will abide by their time-honered principles. by the Constitution and the Union. "We will neither surrender our rights, nor forsake them. We will maintain our constitutional liberty at all bazards, and as a necessary step towards that end, we will maintain the Union in like manner. We are for the Constitution

as it is, and the Union as it was." We call upon our brethren throughout the election of members of Congress, and of the State Legislature. We call upon them to Cincinnati II:10 P. M. nominate as candidates tried and true Democrats, on strictly party principles, inviting the support of all persons, but acting in affiliation with no other party or faction whatever? We call upon them, for the sake of "liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable." to exert all their constitutional right and power to elect conservative men, who will not blasphemously assume to do any official act in the name of God, which cannot be done under the sanction of the Constitution. So doing the Democracy of Wisconsin will best serve \$150 BEST PIANOS. \$150 the cause of the Union, and give the highest CROVESTEEN & HALE having removed to their new proof of their levelty to the Constitution.

We claim the right on their behalf and our own, to censure the political acts of the Administration, when we think that they deserve are prepared to offer the public a magnificent new scale it, and to do all lawfully within our power to sustain the supremacy of the Constitution in all places North and South, and over all persons in office, and out of it. And so that end we devote our hearts, minds and estates to aid pedal, full iron frame, for the Administration in the most vigorous and speedy prosecution of the war waged against the Union by the revolted States. We believe that in so doing we fulfill the most sacred duty we owe to the Constitution.

of our party and ourselves, until the war be ended and the Constitution restored, as the and try these new instruments, and we stand ready at all supreme law of the land, in every State of times to test them with any others manufactured in this the Union.

#### The Collection of the National Tax-Important instructions to the Col-

The Collectors appointed under the recent act of Congress, to collect the National Tax, are making their arrangements, and will soon com mence operations. The Commissioner of Revenue at Washington has just issued the following important regulations to the Collectors at Philadelphia, which apply equally to Collectors in this

1. All mechanics, except those who merely do SINGLE ROOMS 50 CENTS PER DAY. repairs, must be registered as manufacturers, and must take out a liceuse a such if the annual sales amount to \$1,000.

2 But mechanics and other manufacturers who sell their own manufactures at the place MEALS AS THEY MAY BE ORDERED IN THE where they are produced are not required to spacious Refectory. There is a Barber's Shop and take out an additional license as traders. This Bath-rooms attached to the Rotel. who sell their own manufactures at the place take out an additional license as traders. This

3. If manufacturers have an office, depot, store room, or agency, at a place different from the place where the goods are made, or if they sell the manufactures of others, in addition to their own, they must pay a trader's as well as a manufacturer's license. Thus, a tobacconist who both makes cigars and keeps for sale goods in his line

both Houses of Congress at its late session, which he has purchased, must take out both li-We hold the general tenor of these discus- censes. So must a druggist, who also makes patsions against the rights of slavery in the slave. ent articles, or medicines, &c , for which he has a

4. Persons keeping bar-rooms or saloons, for the sale of liquors, must take out a liquor dealer's license. If they also furnish food, they must, sustaining the spirit of secession at the South, in addition, take out an eating house license; and and creating a disregard for the Constitution the sale of cigars, &c., requires a tobacconist's or retail dealer's license, besides billiard tables

5. Commission merchants who are also ship or commercial brokers are required to take out two

6. Grocers selling flour by the barrel or salt by the sack, or any other article in the original package, are reckoned as wholesale dealers. tials upon them. Telegraphic dispatches must be stamped and efficed when delivered to be

8. Arrangements will be made with the collec-We deny the power of the Executive to tor of this district to supply stamps to parties de-

transmitted. But railroad and telegraph compa-

9. Notes and bills of exchange drawn for a will be estimated according to the real par of exchange; the pound sterling, for instance, at the rate fixed for sovereigns, not at the nominal rate

10. On and after October 1st the following instruments must be stamped: All agreements, appraisements, checka, sight drafts, prommissory pension of the writ of habeas corpus, if validly notes, inland and foreign bills of exchange, bills done, would not authorize this. There are lading to foreign ports, packages, &c., per ex-Federal Courts in all the loval States with press, bonds, certificates of stocks, or profit, of full power and jurisdiction to punish all crimes deposit in banks, of damages, and all other ceragainst the United States. No, exercise of tificates, charter parties, brokers, memorandums, Executive power has ever been more odious conveyances, mortgages, leases, telegraph disthan letters de cachet, by which the Executive policies of insurance—life, marine, and fire, and could arrest and imprison without judicial renewals of same-passage tickets to foreign writ, accusation, or trial. We hold this man-ner of arrest in the loyal States, of persons wills, protests, warehouse receipts and writs or not in arms against the Government, to be in other original process of commencing suit. violation of Sec. 2, Art. 3, of the Constitution Also, patent medicines, perfumers, and playing

In reference to public houses and liquor dealpublic house where liquor is sold, licenses must be taken for each business, the license for the tavern to be according to the rental, and the obtain three licenses-first a tavern license, sec ondly a license for the liquor bar, of twenty dollars, and thirdly a license for the eating bar, cost-

addition to the State and city licenses now imposed, and the accumulation of expenses will mate rially affect the smaller dealers who abound in every part of the city. The prosecution of de-

#### RAILROADS. under the Constitution, and we recognize no PERU AND INDIANAPOLIS RAILROAD. 1862. 阿斯里里里里里 1862. NEW ARRANGEMENT.

other State or place for trial; to cause the New Houte to Chicago via Kokomo. 32 MILES SHORTER THAN OTHER ROUTE.

Courts, except before a jury in the Constitutional District Courts of the United States; A Mail Train will leave Indianapolis at 11:10 A M. or to subject such persons to such trial, except stop at all stations and make close connection at Kokomo with train on the Cincinnati and Chicago Air Line Railupon the indictment of a grand jury. These rights are guaranteed to every person, under all circumstances, by the Constitution itself.

the United States are worthy of their fathers, A. M., after the arrival of the train on the T. & W. R. W. from the East, and arrive at indianapolis at 2:50 A. M. in time to make connections for all points East, South An Expresstrain will leave Indianapolis at 10:35 P. M., connectat Kokomo with train for Chicago, and arrive at

Peru at 5:00 A. M., in time to make connection with trains which we complain, were done rather in inad- going East and West on the Toledo and Wabash Railway. Returning the same train will leave Peru at 12:00 M., deliberate purpose of subverting the Consti- making close connection at Kokomo with the trains tution, or with the sanction of the President.

The stretch of power, however, is too great 4:10 P. M., in time to connect with the evening trains for Cincinnati, Louisville and other points.

Special attention given to the transportation of live stock, produce and merchandise generally. DAVID MACY, General Agent and Superintendent.
THEO. P. HAUGHEY, General Ticket Agent. apl'62-dly

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W. H. L. NOBLE, General Ticket Agent
my26 Wm. Powers, Traveling Agent

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